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EDITORIAL

The future of a democracy lies with its youth. America has always been aware that this is true. The development of our free system of public education, extending gradually upward to include colleges and universities, is evidence of this awareness. America has had faith that education would hold youth to the traditions and institutions of our democratic way of life.

Of late there has been evidence, however, that education is not enough. The controversy over our schools, one side of which is presented in Dr. Hutchins's series of articles currently running in *The Saturday Evening Post*, reflects this fact. The aspects of the curriculum most frequently and vigorously challenged represent the attempts of the schools to meet problems of youth which basically are not educational, and which it is questionable whether the schools can meet.

In this issue of THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY the attempt is made to define more clearly the basic problem of youth in our democracy; and to clarify somewhat the role of education in relationship to that of other institutions and agencies in finding a solution of the "youth problem."

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WHICH WAY AMERICA'S YOUTH?

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I

In 1933, as unemployment month by month hit new lows, conditions became more and more unsettled, and signs of social unrest increased, there was growing speculation as to the possibility of a youth movement in America. America seemed to be repeating a social-economic cycle through which other nations had passed. Observers were mindful of the upheavals that had taken place in one part of the world after another, and of the role that youth had played in those upheavals—China, where youth had become the incarnation of an aggressive nationalism; Russia, where youth had been the backbone of communism; Italy, where youth had been the vanguard of fascism; Germany, where youth was the spearhead of Hitlerism. The question began to be asked: Which way America's youth?

No youth movement developed in America. Throughout the depression American youth remained politically apathetic. With "recovery," the youth problem was largely forgotten and speculation concerning the political potentialities of youth ceased. There remains, however, a youth problem for America to solve. Until this problem is solved, the political potentiality of American youth must be reckoned with.

It is the purpose of the pages to follow to look more closely at what happened to our youth during the depression, and at its situation today; to determine why there has been no movement of youth in America; to evaluate youth's present political potentialities; and to define the youth problem which America must solve.

II

As the depression, from 1929 to 1933, slid to its bottom, we became aware that we had in America a tremendous problem of unemployment. We became aware, further, that our youth were coming to constitute an increasing proportion of the unemployed. It was not until 1935, however, as a result of the statistics assembled by the President's commission named to study unemployment as a preliminary to the Social Security Act, and by the National Youth Administration, that it was possible to draw a reliable picture of what had happened to youth during the depression.

Whereas in 1929, of 48,479,000 employables, 2,860,000 were unemployed; in 1935, of about 50,656,000 employables, 10,735,000 were unemployed (in 1933, at the bottom of the depression, approximately 15,500,000 were unemployed). These were "official" estimates of unemployment, prepared by Robert Nathan for the President's commission.

There have been no official statistics on unemployment among youth. Unofficial estimates of idle youth (16 to 25) ranged in 1935 from 3,500,000 to 11,000,000. Estimates of idle youth, like unofficial estimates of the unemployed, varied with the biases of those making the estimates, and with definitions of "idle." For example, Dr. O. E. Baker of the United States Department of Agriculture estimated there were, in 1935, 3,000,000 youths living with and helping their families on farms, who in normal times would have left the farm. Their work was not needed on the farm. Whether they were called unemployed, in estimating idleness among youth, depended upon the point of view of the person making the estimate.

Aubrey Williams, director of the National Youth Administration, estimated idleness among youth in 1935 at a minimum of 8,000,000—3,000,000 of whom were on relief (half the relief load), and another 5,000,000 of whom were wholly unoccupied, out of school and without work. The 1935 census of employment conditions

among youths in New York City, conducted by the New York Welfare Council, found 21 per cent in school, 36 per cent employed, and 43 per cent unemployed. Deducting 10 per cent who were unemployable or not desirous of employment, there remained 33 per cent or 400,000 young men and women, between the ages of 16 and 25, in the City of New York, out of school, out of work, and wanting work.

How many of these youths might have been in school or not desirous of employment in "normal" times, it is impossible to know. But in 1935 they were unemployed. How typical the condition of youth in New York City may have been of the condition of youth throughout the nation, it is impossible to state. If the condition in New York was at all representative, about 33 per cent of the 25,000,000 youths of America were unemployed, or about the 8,000,000 Aubrey Williams estimated.

It is evident that unemployment, during the depression years, bore down more heavily upon youth than upon the employable population as a whole. No comparison on this point can be wholly reliable—the estimates for youth and for the population as a whole are derived from different bases, involve somewhat different definitions of unemployment, and overlap. But it would seem that whereas about 33 per cent of youth were unemployed in 1935, approximately 20 per cent only of the population as a whole were unemployed. Youth bore the brunt of unemployment during the depression.

The older generation found its plight incredible when in 1933-1934 the plight of youth began to get a hearing. America had been traditionally a young man's country. First, an expanding geographical frontier, with natural resources to be conquered, and then science and technology with its promise of a limitless expansion of industry had afforded youth boundless opportunity. Careers could be had for the taking. The future belonged to the strong and the daring. The strong and the daring were youth.

But in 1929 the industrial frontier, like the geographical frontier, had vanished. National expansion had ceased—employment was rapidly contracting. Youth was thrown into competition with age. As the depression deepened this competition increased. Youth had met such competition in previous depressions by underselling age in the labor market, and had fared relatively well. But during the recent depression a variety of forces combined to wrest from youth its only effective weapon, its willingness to sell its labor cheaply. Government and labor combined to maintain wage levels, keeping youth from employment; employers, preferring the more stable and experienced older man in reemploying, and social agencies giving preference to the man with dependents in finding employment combined to keep youth among the unemployed.

As a result the recent depression bore down upon youth as had no previous depression. Unemployment operated selectively against youth. The years from 1929 to 1933 witnessed the creation of a new class of the socially disinherited, the youth unwanted by the economic community, and not inaptly characterized as the "forgotten generation."

By 1934 we were aware that we had a youth problem, as distinct from the problem of unemployment as a whole. The picture of youth's situation, pieced together from the reports of social agencies, was shocking. Some eight million youths were faced with unemployment. They had no jobs nor the prospect of jobs. They had left school. They tramped the streets from one employment agency to another, rebelliously or despairingly, but nearly always futilely. Employment agencies interested in youth were driven to desperate expedients in the attempt to maintain youth's morale—rotating what jobs were available, and interviews with imaginary employers. Hundreds of thousands of youth had taken to the road, "thumbing" their way or "riding the rods," "bumming" their living, sleeping in transient camps or in "jungles," keeping alive, but many of them trying to forget there was a tomorrow.

Others sat at home, idle and brooding—insecurity and despair eating at their hearts like a rust. There were many indications that youth's morale was beginning to break. The numbers of youths in Federal prisons were rising—9 per cent in a single year. The National Committee for Mental Hygiene warned that increasing numbers of young men and young women were becoming discouraged to the point of mental breakdown. Social agencies reported larger and larger numbers of youths in municipal lodging and "flop" houses, the human junk heaps of our industrial society. There were many, if scattered, symptoms of an increasing ferment among youth. Slowly, falteringly, National and State Governments, and local community agencies, began to seek a solution to the "youth problem."

III

Thoughtful observers of what was happening to youth began to speculate upon the possibility of a youth movement, and the direction it might take. Consequently, the eyes of all interested in youth and its problems were turned upon the first American Congress of Youth, as it convened in New York in August of 1934. Here were representatives of more than one hundred youth organizations, including most of the national organizations, gathered to discuss their common problems, and to seek a way out. Youth was to speak.

By midnight of the first day of the congress the wires of press services were carrying to newspapers through the country the story that the congress had split wide open as right- and left-wing factions battled for control. Day by day the papers carried the details of this purported struggle. At the conclusion of the congress the two factions presented their differences on the air. Many friends of youth were bitterly disappointed. The public at large was confirmed in its opinion that youth is irresponsible. Many of the public were alarmed by the prospect of a revolutionary youth movement.

The true story of the first American Congress of Youth has never

been impartially told. The split was not between right- and left-wing groups. It was the field against the Central Bureau for Young America, which had called the congress. Rightly or wrongly, the great majority of youth groups invited to participate felt that the rules of procedure laid down by the Central Bureau precluded a free and representative expression of the opinion of America's youth. More than a dozen national youth organizations protested the proposed procedure before the congress. Among them were the Young People's Socialist League and the Young Communist League. But the protest was signed as well by representatives of the National Student Federation, the National Student Council of the Y.M.C.A., and the National Student Council of the Y.W.C.A., three of the more conservative youth groups in the country.

When the Central Bureau declined to change the rules of procedure, the fight was carried to the floor of the congress. It disrupted the original plan of the congress. But from the first to last it was a conflict over the principle of democratic control, of freedom of speech and expression of opinion. It is true the *Daily Worker*, ever alert for ammunition, hailed the result as the achievement of a united front among youth. But subsequent events have proved this united front to be an illusion.

The "left wing" of the congress incorporated under the name of the "American Youth Congress," and continues to function under that name. It has in the years since 1934 held annual congresses in various parts of the country. Its program has undoubtedly been "left," though its attempt to maintain the semblance of a united front has prevented its program going as far to the left as might have been anticipated, in the light of the role radical youth organizations played in bringing it into existence, and have played in keeping it alive.

Despite this attempt, however, the American Youth Congress has failed to achieve a united front, not merely among youth as a whole, but even among the small proportion of youths who are organized.

The majority of the "middle-of-the-road" youth groups have maintained only a nominal interest in, or connection with, the American Youth Congress.

The "right wing" of the original congress, incorporating under the name of "The First American Youth Congress," started an ambitious program for rallying college and university students. This program involved an itinerary swinging south through the Atlantic States, west through the Southern States, and up the Pacific coast, visiting college and university campuses and organizing sectional youth congresses en route. College and university students, however, proved indifferent; sectional youth congresses failed to arouse interest and rally delegates; and within six months the "right-wing" program had been abandoned.

"The First American Congress," perhaps unlike a few abortive youth groups such as the Silver Shirts, in no way represented a movement of youth to the right. In the heat of the 1934 congress it was dubbed "fascist," and its leader pilloried as a "Hitler agent," just as it dubbed the opposing faction "red" and charged it with "taking orders from Moscow." But its platform failed to bear out the charges leveled against it, as it failed to interest and rally what reactionary elements there were among American youths.

After the 1934 congress the middle groups, such as the National Student Federation, actively interested themselves in the Government's program for relieving the distress of unemployed youth, and played a significant role in bringing into being the National Youth Administration. They have shown no inclination to crusade for an organized youth movement in America; attempting rather to keep the nation aware of youth's needs, to contribute to the foundation of agencies for meeting these needs, and to make youth's influence felt in securing governmental backing for such agencies.

America's youth, then, has shown no tendency to move either to the left or to the right. America's youth has shown no tendency to move at all. This fact has been disappointing to many of the roman-

tically minded friends of youth. As a stormy petrel of the First American Youth Congress put it—"Youth is not red; youth is dead." This fact has been puzzling to many students of so-called youth movements abroad. There was no reason, however, to anticipate a youth movement in America. From the Children's Crusades to Hitler Youth, "youth movements" have never been spontaneous movements of youth, but rather the exploitation of youth's restlessness by adult groups.

In 1933-1934 American youth was becoming restless. But unsettled as were social and economic conditions, they were not ripe for the appearance of an adult conflict group which might raise a crusading banner about which youth could be rallied, in the name of which youth's rising ferment could be capitalized and exploited. And as the country began to climb back out of the depression, and the C.C.C., N.Y.A., and other agencies for the relief of youth's distress began to function, the symptoms of unrest among youth became fewer. America began to forget its youth problem.

IV

Our youth problem, however, remains with us. A year ago we faced the anomaly of "recovery" while there remained in our midst a "ghostly commonwealth" of 7,000,000 unemployed, a stagnant labor pool from which men were drawn when needed, into which men were poured when unneeded. Economists were predicting the likelihood of this pool of unemployed remaining a permanent part of our economic organization. Whether these seers may have been right or wrong, the present "recession" has brought us again face to face with the problem of unemployment.

While we have a problem of unemployment we have a youth problem. Unemployment continues, and will continue, to act selectively against youth. Neither government nor public has shown a disposition to attack the basic youth problem—that of making a place for youth in the economic life of the community. The policy

back of such Federal programs as the C.C.C. and N.Y.A. was clearly stated by Zook, when, as United States Commissioner of Education, in 1933, he said: "We have, therefore, the problem affording these young people a chance to work at something that is real . . . and yet something which does not result in a product in competition with the great army of wage earners." Whether a solution of our youth problem can be worked out on such a basis remains to be seen. In the meantime our youth problem continues to have definite social and political potentialities.

There seems, however, as in 1934, little immediate likelihood of a political movement among youth. The only possible rallying point for such a movement on the present American political horizon is communism. Communist youth offers a clear-cut problem. It is aggressive, and knows what it wants. It is trained in organization. It is disciplined, and ably directed from above. It has won, and is winning recruits among American youth. While youth's situation remains as it is, communist youth will continue to win recruits.

Some time ago, Mayor LaGuardia, approached by a writer who was preparing an article on radicalism in the schools, was asked: "What causes communistic sentiment in our schools?" He replied: "The lack of any solution of our economic problems." Asked what he proposed to do about the situation, this fiery mayor of New York City, famous for wanting to do things and then doing them, replied: "Nothing can be done about it—until economic conditions which create the situation are readjusted."

But communist youths are numerically few, and they are banded together on a program alien to the tradition of American youth. Watching chapter after chapter of various left-wing youth organizations (many of them high-school chapters) marching shoulder to shoulder in New York's May Day parade will continue to give alarmists ammunition, and the tender-minded part of the public the jitters. But while radical youth groups will continue to win recruits, there is no evidence that they are likely to win the alle-

giance of any considerable part of American youth, no probability of a communist youth movement.

There is as little immediate prospect of a "fascist" movement of American youth. There is at present no rallying point for such a movement. On the other hand it is possible that such a rallying point will appear. And should fascist troops ever march in America, they will march under the American flag, in purported defence of the traditions in which American youth is steeped. However, the United States is an enormous territory. Its population has diverse and conflicting sectional interests. Mass movements are unlikely to be as rapid and widespread in America as in European countries. Moreover, we have a definite attachment to democratic institutions which fascist countries lacked. The fact that fascism, like communism, is alien to the tradition in which American youth has been nurtured makes a "right" political movement among our youth equally unlikely in the immediate future.

V

Despite the immediate unlikelihood of a political movement among youth, to leave a large part of a generation feeling it is neither needed nor wanted in our economic life, that it has no stake in the life of the American community, bodes ill for the future. It is time we came to grips with the realities of our youth problem.

Ida Tarbell, striking the keynote of the Youth Today Conference, organized late in 1934 in New York by nine national character-building agencies, said: "The great challenge to youth today, if they are going to redeem the world, is that the world must be redeemed by character and character only. I have no sympathy with the point of view that character must wait upon wealth."

The same day, on the newsstands, a weekly magazine carried the story of an American journalist's conversation with a young Nazi storm trooper in a Berlin cafe. The young storm trooper bore, when off duty, a heavy cudgel in the form of a staff, which he could

use suddenly if rushed into street fighting. "Why are you so willing," asked the journalist, "to kill other starving fellows who are as decent and kindly as you seem to be at heart? You ought to be ashamed of yourself!" "Ja, ja," answered the young Nazi, "it's very easy for you, with money in your pocket, to sit there and upbraid me, who has neither. Give me a job at two marks a day, and I'll clean a sewer or carry a hod. But if you can't give me a job, don't you tell me how I'm to pick up a living."

Miss Tarbell was not facing the realities of the youth problem. Character need not wait upon wealth. But youth's readiness to fight for our traditional democratic ideals must wait upon youth's feeling that it has a place in the life of the American community. Ably as the C.C.C. and the N.Y.A. have tried to meet an emergency, they have failed to meet this fundamental problem. The "problem of affording these young people a chance to work at something real . . ." (something that youth can feel is necessary, vital to the life of the community and the nation) ". . . and yet something which does not result in a product in competition with the great army of wage earners. . . ."—this is the fundamental problem to be solved.

How is it to be solved? By sending youth back to school when youth wants no more school? By enriching youth's leisure, when that very leisure is a token of the fact there is no place for youth in the economic life of the community? By offering youth social service when youth wants labor? By building for youth the tradition of a period of service in the interest of community, state, and nation? The solution is not clear. But the basic problem is clear enough. And America will have a "youth problem" until it is solved.

Are State and Federal Governments to be left to solve the problem? Is youth to become wards of the State, rather than citizens of the community? The present trend is in this direction, due largely to the indifference of the public at large, and of the local community, to the basic problem of youth. It is unlikely the basic

problem of youth can be solved until this indifference is overcome, and communities throughout the nation accept local responsibility for making a place for youth. Until this problem is solved, we must expect an increasing drift among youth away from our democratic ideology and ideals. The real threat inherent in the present situation is the prospect of a next generation of citizens, a large part of which is disillusioned if not demoralized, having lost faith in the values and ideals of a society in which it has found no place, content to drift and be taken care of.

VI

If the drift of youth from our democratic ideals is to be stemmed, not only must the problem of making a place for youth in the life of the community be solved, but an older generation must keep its eyes steadfastly upon democracy. There have been all too many signs of late that our eyes are wavering. In periods of social unrest it has always been the strategy of extremist groups to use their opponents as bogeys to frighten those in the middle—with the result that those who are following the middle road, becoming panicky, turn aside and line up with one extremist group or the other. Extremist groups are employing this strategy today. Those who would hold to our democratic institutions find themselves in the middle of the road. On either side we find violently propagandist groups hurling across our heads at one another the epithets "communist" and "fascist." The epidemic of "red baiting" we have recently witnessed demonstrates that the strategy of one extreme is having its effect. The recent wave of picketings and mass demonstrations against "fascism" is a symptom of the success of the strategy of the other extreme.

Though many of those who cry "red" and "fascist" may be afraid for and loyal to our democratic institutions, their panic is nevertheless a threat to these very institutions. If history has a lesson to teach us in our present situation, it is that in our zeal to fight com-

munism on the one hand, and fascism on the other hand, we are all too likely to lose sight of the democracy for which we are fighting.

If we of the older generation lose our faith in democracy, if we even temporarily lose sight of our democratic ideals, we can expect our youth to do the same—even without their being pledged by adult groups to fight against communism or fascism. But if we keep our heads, refuse to become jittery and stampeded, and, instead of shouting “red” and “nazi,” reaffirm our faith in democracy by going to work on a constructive program for the preservation of our democratic institutions and traditions, we can expect youth to follow us. The weight of the tradition in which our youth has been nurtured is in our favor.

Such a program, however, must honestly attack, and promise the possibility of solving, the problem of social justice and security, and of personal fulfillment for all. And let us not forget that youth will demand that democracy provide justice, security, and opportunity for itself. Youth will no longer be put off with the stories of Horatio Alger.

HOW FARE AMERICAN YOUTH?¹

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Youth! What a term with which to conjure. Children eagerly look forward to the time when they will be young men and women; elders look back upon those few short years as the "good old days."

Youth itself stands at the midpoint, seeking to shake itself free from the dependence of childhood yet reaching forward to face the realities of adult life. Ardent idealistic, fired by a zeal not yet dampened by disillusionment, they earnestly seek to make the world of tomorrow better than that which has been bequeathed to them.

In the aftermath of war, youth saw the promise of a new world snatched from their grasp through the blundering greed of diplomats. Democracies crumbled; the League of Nations became a hollow mockery. Technological change, followed by the cornerless depression, held youth at bay and took from them the one vestige of hope—the chance to gain a foothold on even the lowest rung of the industrial ladder.

The youth of many countries of the world are marching. They are marching behind banners of a harsh patriotism—a patriotism of Napoleon, of Fichte, and of Garibaldi. "The highest duty of a German youth is to die for his Fatherland." They are marching for personalities—for Hitler, for Stalin, for Mussolini, for the Emperor Hirohito, and for Chiang Kai-shek. The smoldering fires of hate are kindled through pageantry, songs, parades; through movies, radio, and textbooks. In labor camps and in organized youth movements they are rallying to the old cries of "La Patrie" and "Mare Nostrum." In three areas of the world they are hurling themselves

¹ The title and, unless otherwise indicated, the factual data of this article are drawn from Homer P. Rainey, *How Fare American Youth?* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1937). It is a "report to the American Youth Commission of the American Council on Education" by its director with the collaboration of members of his staff. Although a little book of less than 200 pages, it is the most comprehensive and challenging summary of the problems of youth that has thus far appeared.

before the incessant rattle of machine guns, staggering at each others throats.

In the midst of world unrest when the zealously of youth has been made the tool of scheming imperialists, when economic security has been achieved only by diverting one fourth of a nation's income into the nonproductive avenue of war and preparation for war, when the youth of the world has demonstrated that they will follow false gods or true if only they will promise to lead them anywhere but here, it is well that we ask the question, "How fare American youth?"

Even impersonal statistics bear evidence to the seriousness of the problem. The declining birth rate has now reached the fourteenth year but the number of youths 15 to 24 will continue to increase from 20,126,794 in 1930 to 21,900,000 in 1944. The ratio of youth to those 25 to 59 years of age will continue to decline from 57 per cent in 1870 and 40 per cent in 1935 to 30 per cent by 1955. The ratio of youth to age varies from 63.3 per cent in South Carolina to only 30 per cent in California. In rural areas there are 53.3 youths for every 100 elders 25 to 59 years of age, while in cities the ratio drops to 37.7 to 100. Youth will continue to gravitate toward the cities; in 1900, 60 per cent of all youths lived in rural areas; in 1930 only 44 per cent. There are approximately 2,000,000 farm youths whose labor will not be needed for production. It is apparent that no single solution of the problems of youth is possible due to the wide variations between urban and rural areas and between States; the increase in the older group which is greater than that of the youth group will bring constantly greater competition for the chance to work.

In a suburban city^{*} 20 per cent of the young people 16 to 25 years of age had sought jobs in vain and another 16 per cent had procured only part-time employment. Of those who had found employment many were in blind-alley jobs and an increasing number of

^{*} From an unpublished report.

girls had accepted work as domestics for the pittance of \$1.50 to \$4.00 a week. From Houston, Texas, from Pennsylvania, from Minnesota come data corroborating these facts. Lynd and Lynd⁸ found that a decreasing number of those who begin at the bottom in industry have any opportunity to rise above the level of unskilled labor. Of the total of all gainfully employed persons in 1930, only 6.7 per cent were in the professions; yet studies of youth aspirations show that from 34 to 46 per cent of all young people seek a professional career. In thirteen communities, of those who left school, 82 per cent of the 16-year-olds were unemployed in 1935; 67 per cent of those 18; 50 per cent of those 20; and 35 per cent of the young people twenty-two years of age.

Youth is not deceived. Constantly they reiterate the statement, "I am afraid to graduate. While in school there is a sense of security but when I get my diploma I'll be expected to get a job. What will happen to me then?" Those who have watched the endless procession leave the protective environment of high school or college know what is happening to them. Disappointment often repeated begets distrust followed either by indifference and an attitude that the world owes them a living or by resentment and bitterness.

What can be done for these two million young people who annually reach the age of employment? The Commission suggests two principal measures: provide special assistance to youth in finding a job and raise the school-leaving age.

While it is true that some progress has been made to achieve the first through the establishment of the State and Federal Employment Service and through the assistance of the National Youth Administration, the major difficulty will not be met by such palliatives. The best placement service conceived cannot vocationally adjust 2,000,000 youths when there are but 1,000,000 jobs available. Through private initiative or, if that fails, through government action, existing labor and professional service must be divided

⁸*Middletown in Transition* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1937).

among more individuals. If it means less profit to the few, it will bring greater distribution of purchasing power to the many. Surely this is not too great a price to pay for the economic security of our youth.

Extension of the period of compulsory education for youth would at least temporarily relieve the competition for jobs. Such a suggestion is but an impractical dream unless we are willing here also to go much deeper than such a superficial proposal implies. Three basic changes must precede or accompany such action.

First, some means must be found to equalize educational opportunity between the States and between rural and urban areas. Despite the fact that the Southern States *spend a larger proportion of their annual income for education than any other section of the country*, the per cent of children 14 to 18 in high school varies from 28 in Alabama to 35.8 in South Carolina. In Utah 95.6 per cent are in high school. In six Southern States the average expenditure for each school child in average daily attendance was \$29.79 in 1933-1934; in the six States making the largest expenditure for education, the amount was \$122.21 for the same year—more than four times as much. Each child in New York State had \$141.76 spent for his education that year; the child living in Mississippi received only such education as could be purchased for \$25.41. Yet Mississippi spent 4.78 per cent of its total income for education and New York only 3.48 per cent.* Translated into comparative length of school term, qualifications of teachers and material equipment, the contrast is even more alarming. To this already startling array of data must be added the fact that 900,000 Negro children of elementary-school age are not in school and that only 4.7 per cent of the Negro population of high-school age is actually enrolled in secondary schools in Mississippi and Arkansas, with less than 10 per cent in five other Southern States. The contrast between rural and urban facilities for education is almost equally significant. In one

* *Financing Public Education* (Washington, D. C.: National Education Association). Research Bulletin, Vol. XV, No. 1, January 1937, page 9.

study of five counties in Wisconsin, "70 farm young men per hundred did not enter high school; 70 village young men did, and twice as many farm youths per hundred as village youths leave high school before graduation." To raise the level of school attendance without first frankly facing these facts and providing adequate equalization of educational opportunities would be as ridiculous as requiring every child to be born in a hospital without provision for additional hospital facilities.

A second preliminary step is also necessary before such legislation would be feasible. There is a definite positive correlation between the social-economic background of youths who drop out of school and the grade completed. If youths are to remain in school, some means must be found to provide for their expenses and to reimburse the families who are dependent upon them for income. The American Youth Act includes this as one of its major features but not only is the bill smothered in committee, but such aid as was provided through the N.Y.A. is being rapidly curtailed.

The final change which must be made is in the school program itself if any substantial number of youths are to be drawn out of the labor market through continuance in school. Here the authors have been realistic and present a forceful plea for the cultivation of "two types of intellectual maturity, two types of information, and two types of interpretation of the facts known to modern science and letters—one vocational in its interests and applications; one general, directly related to the common social life of humanity. At the beginning of secondary education, general education should be stressed. During the later years vocational education should come into prominence." The latter must be functional and specifically related to economic and industrial needs.

When these three changes have become a reality, when we are willing to launch forward courageously with a program that will sweep aside the social lag that has handicapped education, then and only then can we lengthen the educational span for youth and remove them from competitive labor.

"In a country where three quarters of the school children examined have physical defects of one kind or another, where seven tenths of the industrial workers under inspection suffer from physical ailments, and where in one year one fifth of the young men applying for Army and Navy service were rejected because of physical weaknesses, the health of youth is apparently an item of no mean significance." Studies of health and income show that families of low income have 40 per cent more illness than those receiving an average income of \$420 a year per individual, and yet spend the same per cent of their gross income for health services. The studies of the Brookings Institution disclose that even in the peak of prosperity (1929) most of the families of America had incomes that prohibited expenditure of any considerable sum for health: 21 per cent had an annual family income of less than \$1,000, 42 per cent less than \$1,500, and 71 per cent less than \$2,500. Add to these data regarding physical health the many factors producing mental and social maladjustments, such as overstimulation, economic insecurity, and competition, and the problem of the health of youth becomes all the more acute.

In the field of recreation, much progress has been made in provision for physical facilities, yet much more needs to be done. One community of 25,000 has not a single organized recreational agency or playground and last summer three children were killed by automobiles while playing in the streets in front of locked school yards. School grounds and buildings should be open every free hour for the use of the young people and adults of the community. Adequate leadership is badly needed. The entire community must coördinate its efforts if it is to meet the criticism of the Commission: "Training for self-sufficiency and enjoyment of life, like training for citizenship and marriage, has been left for youth to pick up as best they may."

How fare American youth in the home? The depression forced 1,500,000 young people who normally could have been married to

postpone this step. Increasing conflict is inevitable. Problems of sex behavior are especially perplexing. In New York State alone there are twenty-five times as many new cases of syphilis and gonorrhea annually as in Norway, Sweden, and Denmark where the combined population is approximately the same. One study of clinic cases shows more new patients among 19-year-old girls than of any other age. "But education, at least that on the secondary level, continues to deal with the problems of youth as if neither disease existed." The jury in the *Youth vs. Society* trial held in Orange, New Jersey, indicted society "for indifference to and ignorance of the problems of youth in respect to marriage."

In meeting the responsibilities of the larger citizenship, youth faces even greater difficulties than in economic insecurity, home life, or recreation. Here he is faced constantly with glaring inconsistencies. He is taught a high idealism yet discovers that highly "respectable" citizens fail deliberately to put it into practice in their daily lives. He is told to respect the flag and the Constitution and learns the ideology of democratic government, but discovers that much of the vaunted symbolism is but a cloak to protect vested interests and that politics differ widely from the textbook descriptions of democracy. He is instilled with patriotism only to discover that it is a chauvinistic nationalism which deters our Congress from admitting that there is a war in China, lest the enforcement of the Neutrality Act interfere with our profits!

Through youth organizations, dodgers, school papers, and forums, youth continues to hurl its challenge, "We are the builders of a new world." They cannot build it alone nor do they seek to do so. It is a process of evolution and not revolution. Through a frank acknowledgment of our failures and a realistic facing of the present emergency, we must join hands across the years with youth. "We have hardly tapped the spiritual energy of youth. To a large degree, our ability to avert catastrophe and bring about a day of social justice depends upon our utilization of this energy and courage."

THE YOUTH OF NAZI GERMANY

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"Whoever has the youth has the future," is one of Hitler's oft-repeated phrases. For the attainment of this future, he has taken complete charge of youth's physical, emotional, and intellectual development. To understand how Hitler's domination of youth has become a *fait accompli*, it is necessary to keep in mind the unusual and perhaps tragic circumstances under which this generation grew up. It is perhaps even wise to consider the roots of National Socialism or Hitler's Germany under the Third Reich. The submission of individuals to the will of the state, that will determined by a strong *Führer* (leader), is not new. Dictatorship of a kind has always been part of the pattern of German culture, tradition, and philosophy and might explain the psychology of the present German mind. Thus, Germany of Hitler's Third Reich is understandable in the light of certain permanent key characteristics of the German people, which clearly manifested themselves in the medieval First Reich and in the Second or Bismarkian Reich. Both of these empires were founded upon the principle of a strong leader with a subservient national group. It might also explain why the German Republic, founded after the abdication of Emperor William II on November 9, 1918, and patterned, in part, after the English parliamentary system, failed so miserably, that after the death of Hindenburg on August 2, 1934, Hitler was able to have himself proclaimed president and chancellor of the Third Reich. Germans never had had training in any phase of democratic life and so it is small wonder that the Republic rapidly disintegrated into political party entanglements which paved the way to an easy road to dictatorship.

The German youth movement is not new with Hitler. It dates back to 1900 when youth, tired of the strict discipline and regi-

mentation of school authorities and the mechanization of life which was making machines out of men, banded together to seek relief from these pressures. The young German worker, tired of the routine of factory life, and the German student, equally tired of the repressive measures of the school which he believed was crushing out his individuality, sought freedom in a return to nature and the simple life in the out-of-doors.

The *Jugendbewegung* or youth movement spread rapidly from this time on. Small bands living as a family under self-elected leaders roamed all over the country, cultivating a spirit of independence, strength of body, and a sense of social discipline and coöperation.

There was nothing essentially political about the German youth movement between 1900 and the outbreak of the war. As has been stated it was primarily to escape from the severe intellectualism of the school on the part of students and to escape from the machinery, materialism, and routine of modern industrial life on the part of the young worker that youth banded together in a common program. The pressure of events which followed the war, however, did much to change this attitude.

At the outbreak of the war a temporary check was put upon the movement. However, the ideals for which it stood had sufficient time to become stamped into the minds and spirit of young Germany, so that after the revolution they fitted in admirably with the aims and aspirations of the New Republic. For here already formed was an organization that preached a love of national tradition, a love of the people, and a love of their Fatherland. Under the Republic youth was neither forgotten nor neglected, for beginning about 1919 and in the course of less than ten years some 2,200 youth hostels were developed in Germany. However, after the war the young men returning from the front came face to face with the reality of poverty, hunger, unemployment, and unsettled political conditions. Those young men who grew up in Germany during the period

of the war likewise felt the hardships of the times. Born into a war and coming of age at a time when depression had resulted in a high point of despair, they naturally felt a strong resentment and antagonism against the elder generation whom they held responsible for the misery inflicted upon them.

In the face of a life of uncertainty and hopelessness the romantic aspects of the earlier German youth movement seemed a hopeless and innocuous thing at best. The war and the depression combined to make the German youth movement a much more serious affair. Youth resented the rather paternalistic attitude displayed toward them by the Republic. They wanted power and a chance to shape the policies of the government. There was no need for a return to the simple life, for, after the inflation, poverty was forcing all Germans, those who had previously been rich and the poor alike, to live the simplest life. It was at this time that the youth movement changed its character and became predominantly political.

Although the Republic and the parties supporting it had their youth movements they made no concerted bid for the support of youth to aid in the political, social, economic, and moral rehabilitation of German life. Hitler did and so did the leaders of the communist group.

The communists at one extreme urged the immediate overthrow of the Republic and the establishment of a communistic state ruled by the working class. They preached a brotherhood of workers, talked of the class war that would have to be waged to include all classes within the working class. Their visions took them beyond the small confines of a German national state into the realms of an international alliance of workers. These young communists had seen enough of war and destruction. They preached a gospel of peace and the discard of chauvinistic propaganda which they felt was the dominant motivation for war. However much the Republican Constitution demanded that education be inspired by the desire for international reconciliation and peace, nationalistic propa-

ganda drowned out these cries. "November Criminals," "traitors of the Fatherland" were responsible for the humiliation of the Treaty of Versailles and, although a minority in the Republic asked for peace and reconciliation as a basis for reconstruction, the majority of the Germans were still intensely nationalistic. It was these nationals in the Republic who, after guaranteeing in the Constitution the rights of minorities to dissent, promptly set about to force the communists and other dissenters underground by repressive measures.

Hitler, on the other hand, and his Nazi followers preached a thoroughly German doctrine so well known and ingrained in German philosophy. The reestablishment of a great empire was based on the "unity of all classes into a single national state." Convinced that things could not be accomplished pacifically, it was through a show of national strength, welded firmly together by nationalistic, religious, and racial sentiments, that Hitler aimed to repudiate the reparations, abrogate the Treaty of Versailles, regain colonies lost by Germany after the war, and, in general, vindicate the "National Honor." Further than this, Hitler made a direct appeal to youth, rendering lip service at least to the belief that they and they alone would determine the destiny of Germany. More important, however, he promised them work and an eventual life of prosperity in the glorious new empire to be created by the National Socialists.

With conditions getting worse instead of better, youth transferred its loyalty to the leader who promised them the shortest road back to security. In the winter of 1932 conditions had become desperate. Unemployment had risen to the staggering number of something well above six million and there was no relief in sight. The doles, which were found too heavy a burden for the taxpayer to carry, were far too small for the unemployed to live on. Suffering was widespread and among those hardest hit were the vast numbers of unemployed, disillusioned youths. It was they who, ready to grasp at any straw, fell prey to Hitler, the leader, who promised them

most vociferously work and bread. They were immediately, in ever increasing numbers, mobilized into the ranks of the Storm Troopers and "Hitler Jugend" (Hitler Youth) and became the *avant-garde* of Hitler's rise to power. The old political parties were crumbling and with them the allied youth movements fell to be absorbed later into the Hitler youth movement. In 1932 and 1933 nothing could be gained by being an adherent to the communist party except an opportunity to die for a remote ideal, so thoroughly and systematically were they hunted out and put into prison or concentration camps.

From 1933 on, youth has played a most important role in Germany, and if we are to read the destiny of Germany we must look to the Hitler youths and study their growth. It was and is an organization that captured the imagination of all youths and had an irresistible appeal which the other youth organizations did not possess. By appealing to the emotional primary wishes of youth with symbols, martial music, the use of color, uniforms, etc., youth was fired with enthusiasm for their new leader. It was soon understood, however, that the emotional appeal of these symbols alone was not enough and Hitler appealed to youth to unite against their common foes both within and without Germany. He instilled into them the idea that it is glorious to die for "freedom and honor" and called upon youth to establish a firm foundation for building the third and most glorious empire that Germany had ever known.

The Reichstag fire, and the events that followed, made Hitler the man of the hour for he was looked upon by all as the one who had saved Germany from the immediate menace of communism. Hitler was lavish in his bestowal of credit for his success on youth and other followers.

I remember with what dismay, in those early days of complete control when Hitler claimed the whole of German youth for his own, I listened to the speeches of Hitler and the lesser satellites of the party whipping up the emotions of youth and playing upon the theme that Germany was being "debauched" by foreign powers

through the Treaty of Versailles. They spoke continuously of a "united front" and used this to unite youth in defiance of their common enemies, real or imaginary, the Jews, communists, socialists, and all others whose political, racial, and social beliefs differed from their own.

Under a barrage of propaganda, individual groups of the old youth organizations either voluntarily disbanded or joined the Hitler Jugend. The most sweeping victory came in the summer of 1934 when the Protestant youth organization influenced by the entreaties of pro-Hitler clergymen coördinated their group with the Hitler youths.

Guaranteed religious independence and protection for its adherents in a Concordat between Hitler and the Vatican, the Catholic youths, in the face of extreme proselytizing, repeatedly refused to ally themselves with the Hitler youths. They held out long against pressure but they too were finally coerced in 1935 to combine with the Hitler youths.

Today, at least a semblance of unity of youth has been achieved and Hitler can on the face of this claim the whole of German youth as his own. In spite of all one hears to the contrary there is in Germany a considerable amount of criticism of the Nazi youth organization. This comes from various sources.

1. Underground movements of other political organizations for youth.
2. The church leaders—the only articulate opposition to Hitler's policy at the present time in Germany—who view with alarm the spread of pagan worship in the youth organization.
3. Teachers who view with alarm the ever increasing demands of the state upon the school and leisure time of students. Nor do these same teachers, realizing the effect upon impressionable young minds, countenance the type of propaganda which they are forced to repeat in their classrooms.¹

¹The essence of the special brand of Nazi racial education which is taught in the schools is to be found in a book *Trust No Fox on the Green Heath and No Jew Upon His Oath*—a

4. Parents who are fearful of what the end product of such complete regimentation will be. Intelligent parents object to the inculcation of a particular brand of race hatred, mythical or otherwise, and the complete domination of a child's time, his interests, and his affections.

Opposition of this kind is hard to suppress but it is being systematically attempted. What the achievement of a united front in the youth situation will mean to German youth only time can tell. Following the Hegelian philosophy of state, youth today has no rights but only a duty and that duty is to the state. The philosophy underlying the youth movement today in Germany is that it is not a movement of the state for youth but an organization of youth for

(*footnote 1 continued*) Picture Book for Old and Young, by Elvira Bauer (Nuremberg: Stürmer Publishing House, 1936). Thousands of copies of these "nursery rhymes of hate" were sold and distributed to children all over Germany. A brief translation will suffice to show the viciousness of this type of literature.

"When God the Lord made the World,
He also created the races:
Indians, Negroes and Chinese
Likewise the Jews, the evil beings.
And we too, were also there,
The Germans among the others.
Then he gave to all a portion of earth,
That it might be cultivated by their labor.
The Jew took no part in that work
But from the very beginning, the devil seized him;
He wished not to work, but only to deceive
He was the ace of liars
Learning quickly and well from his father the Devil
He wrote all this in the Talmud."

We turn the page and two pictures draw our attention. One shows a tall, well-built, blonde young man stripped to the waist leaning for the moment on a shovel. The other, the Nazi conception of a "typical Jew"—obese, with shrewd, coarse features, overdressed, and in his role of parasite we see him with stock reports jammed into his pockets. The author describes the picture as follows:

"The German is a proud man
Who can work and fight.
Because he is so handsome and so full of courage
The Jew has hated him for many years!
Here is the Jew, you can see at once
The greatest scoundrel in the whole country!
He believes himself to be most handsome
And yet he is so ugly."

the state. Complete subservience, unquestioning obedience to constituted authority is the highest "good."

The claim that Hitler has saved the youth of Germany by firing it with enthusiasm, setting it to work, and giving it a great nationalistic ideal seems admirable at first. Untrained observers, spending a week or two in Germany marvel at the transformation which Hitler has accomplished with youth. Today, as servants of the state, they are no longer broken in spirit, disillusioned, or despairing. They march along with a show of complete solidarity singing and believing *Deutschland über Alles*. They are today united for the common purpose of building a new and greater Germany, not only equal to the other nations of the world but superior to them.

No one will deny that there has been a radical transformation of German youth and Hitler deserves the credit. But we must measure this change in a scale of values. Will the change benefit German youth over a period of time?

Originally created as a movement to achieve a certain degree of individual freedom and a well-rounded personality free from the pressure of regimentation, the German youth movement has degenerated into the most subservient of organizations, submitting its last vestige of freedom and individuality to the yoke of Hitler's regime.

The transformation has been accomplished. But to what purpose if this has been achieved at the expense of inculcating wrong attitudes instead of the right ones? Unfortunately, in times of stress youth can be easily swayed by those who appeal to their emotions. They can be shut up within a closed world of a national totalitarian state and given ideals which seem to us not only unsound and unsocial but inimical to the welfare of a nation and ultimately to the world.

Because the nazification of German youth is predicated upon the fact that education results from every contact of the individual, both the formal and the informal aspects of education are controlled by the government. Not only in school, but in the movies, radio, and

the press, Nazi propaganda is at work impregnating youth with its ideas. Its effects are obvious. German youth, indoctrinated as it has been, feels itself duty bound to stifle all who are in disagreement with their views. Herdmindedness is at its peak. The questioning or criticism of authority is treason.

In spite of assurances from Baldur Von Schirach, Nazi youth leader, that German youths are allowed religious freedom, he has been teaching that Christianity is taboo. As a follower of Dr. Alfred Rosenberg, high priest of the new Nazi culture and religion, he is an exponent of a new and strictly German religion, a form of pagan worship of the old German gods, Woton and the rest who typify certain ideals in keeping with the tenets of Nazism. According to a recent article in *The New York Times*, ministers who teach brotherly love, tolerance, and good will are persecuted and despised, for these are ideals to which only weak men subscribe.²

The description of the youth of Germany is not a unique picture but typical elements are to be found in the youth movements of all dictator nations. In Italy and Russia regimentation and complete domination of youth proceeds apace. Communist leaders in Russia and fascists in Germany and Italy are determined to possess youth body and soul. As Hitler and Mussolini claim all youths for their own, Stalin is uniting Russian youths to be the defenders of the fatherland in the coming crisis. All three are accomplishing their purposes in a closed world in which youth learns only those things which careful planning permits them to learn.

Youth today is the pawn in the hands of angry "Gods." What the key characteristics of certain national groups will be as a result of this type of nationalistic education only time will tell. Viewed by any rational standard, it is hard to subscribe to the idea that Hitler has been the dominant force for good in the lives of German youth.

² *The New York Times*, March 20, 1937.

ORGANIZED YOUTH IN AMERICA

M. M. CHAMBERS

American Youth Commission

National associations composed wholly or largely of young persons are of interest to all who have perceived what a large part the regimentation of youth has played and now plays in the plans of European dictatorial regimes. There is a widespread and well-grounded feeling, however, that American youths are not likely to play a role similar to that of some of their European contemporaries. The very fact that in this country hundreds of separate national organizations compete for the allegiance of youth tends to demonstrate the absence of any totalitarian youth movement. Observation of the vastly diverse purposes of these national groups reveals that anything approaching militant solidarity does not exist.

This situation is eminently satisfactory to many who would regard an inclusive national youth organization as a very dangerous instrument, likely to fall into the hands of demagogues and to be manipulated with disastrous results to the public peace and welfare. On the other hand, there are some young persons who, feeling keenly the burden of the economic hardships which their generation faces, and regarding their difficult situation as largely of the making of befuddled or selfish oldsters, cherish more or less vague aspirations for the growth of some organization in which the power of all youth could be mobilized and made a unified and effective force in national affairs. Probably this feeling arises almost wholly from the privations resulting from the depression, and may diminish as that unhappy era recedes, and the youths of the bleak nineteen-thirties pass on to maturity, leaving their places among the ranks of the young to be filled by another wave reaching adolescence at a time when the economic picture is rosier, and when the atmosphere of despair engendered by the dark discontent of depression years has given way to a more generally optimistic outlook.

THE LARGEST GROUPS

Without determining the merits of any of the foregoing attitudes, it is possible to look more closely into the present panorama of organized youth on the national level. There are about twenty associations large enough to claim a membership of 100,000 or more young persons. Only six report their membership as being 1,000,000 or more. By all odds the largest one is the American Junior Red Cross, reporting 8,351,000 members. Possibly next in point of size is the International Society of Christian Endeavor, reporting approximately 4,000,000 members in all parts of the world, but making no estimate of the number in this country alone. The third ranking claim is that of the American Youth Congress, a loose federation of a great variety of national and local organizations, some of which are inclined toward a leftward political and social philosophy, reporting an aggregate of 1,600,000 individuals.

Beyond this point there are three national groups having memberships of slightly more than 1,000,000 each. These are the Four-H Clubs, the Young Men's Christian Association, and the Boy Scouts of America. Among all the organizations just mentioned overlapping of memberships exists, but no one knows to what extent. All of them except the last two enroll youths of both sexes. To complete the quantitative picture of the better known groups, it may be added that the cluster of young people's groups associated with the Methodist Episcopal church, chief among which is the Epworth League, claim an aggregate enrollment of more than 600,000. Two Catholic youth organizations estimate their membership at half a million each. The Baptist Young People's Union estimates 325,000. The Young Men's Hebrew Associations and Young Women's Hebrew Associations enroll about 265,000 young persons, and are both affiliated with the Jewish Welfare Board, which also numbers among its constituency other types of Jewish community organizations, the whole being estimated to consist of 350,000 persons. About 410,000 young women are members of the Young Women's

Christian Association. The Girl Scouts number 400,000; the Camp Fire Girls, 222,058; the Boys' Clubs of America, 263,013. The Future Farmers of America, an organization for boys, estimates total enrollment at 117,000. The National Student Federation, which is a league of the organized student bodies of about 150 colleges and universities, reports that 225,000 students are enrolled in these institutions.

Only four of all the foregoing organizations report annual headquarters budgets of \$700,000 or more. The largest budget is that of the Y.W.C.A. (\$1,188,000), which covers a considerable amount of work in foreign countries as well as the headquarters program of the National Board in the United States. The Girl Scouts report a headquarters budget of \$1,131,000; the Boy Scouts of America, \$958,000; the Y.M.C.A. National Council, \$741,000. The combined budgets of the local units of the Y.M.C.A. in the United States amount to about \$40,000,000 annually. No similar report for the units of the Y.W.C.A. seems to be available. The scouting organizations do not conduct local enterprises involving any large sums of money as a rule. More than \$5,000,000, however, have been invested in permanent Boy Scout camps; and there are about 300 permanent Girl Scout camps.

SKETCH IN DOLLARS AND CENTS

The total value of buildings and physical equipment owned by the Y.M.C.A.'s is about \$165,000,000. For the Y.W.C.A.'s a comparable figure is not reported. The only other national youth organization having physical plants aggregating large value is the Boys' Clubs of America, whose local units own buildings and equipment worth more than \$14,000,000. Endowment funds of substantial size exist for only a few national groups of young people. Speaking of funds reserved for the support of the national headquarters alone, the Y.W.C.A. National Board leads with an endowment of about \$5,320,000. The Y.M.C.A. National Council is endowed with the sum of \$2,535,000. The aggregate endowment of its local units is

approximately \$18,000,000. The Boy Scouts of America have a headquarters endowment of about \$1,665,000. The Boys' Clubs of America report only some \$9,000 as headquarters endowment, but have other invested funds in excess of \$100,000. The local units of this organization possess endowments aggregating about \$3,600,000.

Only one youth organization in addition to those already named reports a headquarters endowment of as much as \$100,000. This is the Girls' Friendly Society, a group affiliated with the Protestant Episcopal church, possessing \$150,000 in permanent funds. The Brotherhood of St. Andrew, an Episcopal organization for boys, has an endowment of more than \$85,000.

Returning to the scanning of national headquarters budgets, we find the American Junior Red Cross with about \$225,000, and the Jewish Welfare Board with about \$140,000. Among national youth organizations having headquarters budgets of less than \$100,000 annually are the Boys' Clubs of America, \$90,000; the Camp Fire Girls, \$88,000; the Sodality of Our Lady, \$85,000; the National Student Federation, \$40,000; the Epworth League, \$39,000; the Girls' Friendly Society, \$36,000; the Order of the Rainbow for Girls, \$31,000; the Young Circle League (Youth Section of the Workmen's Circle), \$27,500; Aleph Zadik Aleph (a junior auxiliary to the Jewish Order of the B'nai B'rith), \$25,000; the United States Junior Chamber of Commerce, \$20,000; the Luther League, \$18,000; the American Youth Congress, \$17,000; the American Student Union, \$16,000; the Future Farmers of America, \$15,000; the Boys' Brotherhood Republic, \$15,000; the American Youth Hostels, \$15,000; the Big Brother and Big Sister Federation, \$13,500; the Junior Hadassah, \$12,000; the Youth Fellowship of the Reformed Church in America, \$12,500; and the Catholic Boys' Brigade, \$10,000.

Such is the picture of prosaic facts concerning the financial resources of organized American youth. This discloses nothing of the

distinctive *esprit* of the different organizations, nor of the heterogeneous pattern into which they distribute themselves on the scale of political and social thought. The groups discussed above may be said to fall roughly into several categories. One class may be identified as "character building" with a strong social-servant slant, and in some cases with a considerable religious infusion. Another type embraces the avowedly religious organizations which are for the most part auxiliaries to churches—Catholic or Protestant. Somewhat similar groups exist for Jewish young people, but usually have an admixture of emphasis upon the Jewish national history and literature in addition to the religious motif. A third grouping is composed of organizations of students. Again, there is a type of organization seeking to represent the aspirations of American youth for economic and social betterment, without distinction as to the religious or educational status of its adherents. Other recognizable types include the youth auxiliaries of several well-known patriotic, political, fraternal, and labor organizations. Added to these are a few groups primarily for rural youth, generally characterized by emphasis on occupational advancement.

WHAT DO YOUTHS BELIEVE ?

As noted heretofore, one of the principal current sources of interest in youth organizations is curiosity as to what flavoring of economic and political philosophy they bear. Is it true that American youths are going dangerously radical, as occasional alarmists suggest? Or is it true that the great masses of our young persons take an apathetic and unimaginative attitude toward political and social questions, and are conservatives by reason of mere inertia if for no other cause, as many observers would have us believe? Probably neither of these observations is quite correct. Among many of the youth organizations here mentioned there is indeed a noticeable "pinkish" tint, if such a descriptive term may be used to designate a tendency to take an active interest in progressive modifications of

the more oppressive features of the capitalistic system, and to regard with tolerant curiosity the proposals of various left-wing groups who aspire toward a society characterized by such phrases as "the coöperative commonwealth" and "production for use and not for profit." Nearly every Protestant denomination, as well as the Roman Catholic church, has greater or lesser numbers among its clergy who possess keen noses for social injustice, and the courage to propose measures to eliminate its grosser forms. Such an attitude has many attractions for the youth of today, especially since the wide diffusion of high-school education has equipped a large proportion of our boys and girls to comprehend current social issues to an extent never possible hitherto.

The tendency to question the sanctity of some outworn elements in our economic order not only runs throughout the religious youth organizations, but also permeates in varying degree the character-building and social-service youth groups. Allied with it, and often overshadowing it in prominence, is the solicitude for the preservation of international peace which is actively promoted by many important organizations, and which has assumed during recent decades something of the proportions of a major popular crusade, analogous in some respects to the great campaigns for such causes as women suffrage and national prohibition, which rocked American society to its foundations for many years. Although the peace movement is often marked by excesses which are common to all great reform waves, it can scarcely be regarded as a cause for alarm. There seems little likelihood of its contributing to a national catastrophe by actually weakening the national defense or the national morale in the face of armed antagonists; and there is much possibility of good if the enthusiasm of peace advocates can be wisely directed toward the building and strengthening of effective agencies of international coöperation and organization.

The doctrinaire left-wing youth organizations, such as the Young People's Socialist League and the Young Communist League of the

United States of America, are small in membership and minuscule in finances. It must be said that despite these handicaps they demonstrate sustained zeal and disciplined organization, such as to put to shame the relatively nebulous and evanescent youth clubs periodically sponsored in preëlection seasons by the major political parties. It is quite unlikely, however, that these small and militant doctrinaire groups will succeed in gaining the attention of any considerable proportion of the American youth population in the near future. Surely it is an error to regard them as a serious menace to American institutions or as a threat to social order.

DIVERSITY AND BALANCE

Mention of the red flank of the political spectrum calls to mind the fact that the various left-wing contingents are heavily balanced by numerous other youth organizations which lean far to the right. The patriotic groups, such as the Sons of the American Legion, the Children of the American Revolution, and many others, more or less aggressively combat all extreme radical sentiments. Similar purposes form part of the cardinal aims of certain fraternal organizations such as the Antlers of the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks; and are likewise shared by some Catholic groups, notably those auxiliary to the Knights of Columbus.

Moving slightly inward from the antithetical extreme shades of political opinion, we find some very large and influential youth groups well to the right of center. The two great rural youth organizations—the Four-H Clubs and the Future Farmers of America, though neither overtly propagates any particular political creed—nevertheless foster a mildly conservative attitude on public questions in subtle but powerful ways through the general tone and basic premises of their whole programs. To a considerable extent this same observation holds true of the great national scouting organizations for boys and girls, and even to a lesser extent it is applicable to the Christian Associations for young men and young women. This

latter statement does not contradict the earlier observation that the character-building and religious organizations are to a degree permeated by militant dissatisfaction with existing social injustices. Within each organization there are wide variations. The same condition prevails among the strictly religious youth groups. Probably political liberalism is relatively stronger among Jews, and conservatism comparatively more prevalent among Catholics, while the center of gravity among Protestant youth is still toward the rightward end of the political arc.

The foregoing discussion gives only a meager idea of the diversity and balance of American youth organizations. The majority of our young people, as has been observed by many who have opportunities for understanding them, display only lukewarm interest in political or economic doctrines, and may thus be rated as mildly conservative in their attitudes on controversial questions. Youth in the large is but little affected by the efforts of extremists on the one hand to whip up rampant reactionary sentiments, or by the strivings of zealots on the other hand to stimulate a militant radicalism. More important than the political complexion of youth organizations are their social-service and public-welfare functions. In this area of human service there is not so much necessity for complacent tolerance of cross-purposes as there is in the political sphere. From the standpoint of real social service to youth, much might be gained by a persistent coöperative effort to bring the service programs of our diverse youth organizations into closer relation and better coördination.

Even a compact listing of the purposes and activities of the numerous national associations makes a substantial volume. Such a descriptive directory of some 330 youth-serving organizations has just been issued by the American Youth Commission.¹ Condensed data regarding membership, publications, staffs, and finances are included, as well as statements of the aims and current programs of

¹ *Youth-Serving Organizations: National Non-Governmental Associations* (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1937), 327 pages.

the hundreds of organizations. After digesting this information, a logical next step would be a coöperative search for ways and means of improving the articulation of the many service activities. Some wasteful competition and duplications no doubt exist; yet the whole program is meager and fragmentary by modern standards, and unknown millions of youths are scarcely touched at all by any organization of this kind.

Assuming that there are undeniable benefits for youth to be derived from membership in voluntary associations for worthy purposes, the absence of such opportunities for many youths may constitute a serious social deprivation. The subject is intriguing not only from the viewpoint of the well-rounded development of young persons individually, but also from the angle of education for coöperative citizenship.

DETERMINANTS INVOLVED IN BOY TRANSIENCY

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This study is concerned with the cases of 3,352 boys registering at the Los Angeles bureau of the Federal Transient Service during the year from August 1, 1934, to July 31, 1935, on whom verified information was obtained from some social agency.¹ It is felt that because the study has been based on verified material it constitutes a genuine contribution, in view of the fact that all other studies in the field were either based on the unsubstantiated statements of the boy to the worker, or unverified records of the Federal Transient Service.

Before attempting to analyze the reasons why these boys went on the road, it is pertinent to discuss briefly the composition of the group. This will be divided into the following areas: age, duration of transiency, origin of migration, color and nativity, family background, and educational background.

AGE

Table I portrays the number and percentage of boys within the age range considered. Boys older than 20 were referred to the men's department of the Service. Boys 15 and under were usually cared for by private agencies in the community. It will be noted that the modal age is 18, with the 19-year-old group just behind.

DURATION OF TRANSIENCY

The question of time on the road may well be considered under two subdivisions: the number of trips on the road, and the duration of time elapsed since leaving home on the last occasion. Table II illustrates the results obtained concerning the first of these two items.

¹ For a description of the administration, organization, and procedure see George E. Outland, "The Federal Transient Program for Boys in Southern California," *Social Forces*, 14, March 1936, pages 427-432.

TABLE I
AGES OF TRANSIENT BOYS STUDIED

<i>Age</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>
16	390	11.6
17	547	16.3
18	911	27.2
19	880	26.3
20	624	18.6
Total	3,352	100.0

TABLE II
NUMBER OF TRIPS ON THE ROAD

<i>Number</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>
One	2,321	69.5
Two	490	14.5
Three	127	3.8
Four	59	1.7
Five	17	.5
Six or more	17	.5
"Several"	136	4.0
"On and off for years"	174	5.2
Not ascertained	11	.3
Total	3,352	100.0

It will be seen that more than 69 per cent of the entire group were making their first trip on the road, and that only 16 per cent had more than two trips. In so far as the number of times on the road may be used as a criterion, it can be stated that the group here studied was, on the whole, inexperienced in the ways of transiency, that their migrations had begun since the onset of the economic depression, and that with few exceptions they could not be classified as seasoned or habitual wanderers.

Table III portrays the time elapsing since each boy left home on the trip that he registered at the Los Angeles bureau. For purposes of

contrast, this table has been broken into those making their first, second, or third or more trips away from home.

TABLE III
DURATION OF TRANSIENCY

<i>Time</i>	<i>Boys Making First Trip</i>	<i>Boys Making Second Trip</i>	<i>Boys Making Three or More Trips</i>	<i>Total</i>
Less than 1 month	876	200	144	1,220
From 1 to 3 months	717	159	143	1,019
From 3 to 6 months	348	81	74	503
From 6 months to 1 year	246	41	29	316
From 1 to 2 years	69	7	48	124
From 2 to 3 years	29	0	2	31
From 3 to 4 years	7	0	0	7
More than 4 years	4	0	0	4
"On and off" indefinitely	0	0	107	107
Not ascertained	9	2	10	21
Total	2,305	490	541	3,352

Here again the evidence points to the fact that the boys studied were new to the ways of the road. Eighty-two per cent had been transient less than 6 months; 67 per cent had been on the road less than 3 months, while 36 per cent had been migratory less than one month before registering at the Los Angeles bureau. More than one fourth of the entire group (26 per cent) were making their first trip on the road, and had been away from home less than one month.

ORIGIN OF MIGRATION

The boys studied came from every State in the Union, one territory, and two foreign countries. Texas led the list with 415 cases, or more than 12 per cent of the total number. Vermont with one boy was at the bottom of the list. Table IV gives the number and percentage of boys coming from each of the large areas of the United States, together with the percentage of the total population in each of these areas according to the 1930 census.

TABLE IV

ORIGIN OF TRANSIENT BOYS BY REGIONS, CONTRASTED WITH TOTAL
PERCENTAGE OF THE POPULATION

<i>Region</i>	<i>Number of Boys</i>	<i>Per Cent of Boys</i>	<i>Per Cent of Population</i>
New England	117	3.5	5.7
Middle Atlantic	442	13.2	21.4
East North Central	789	23.6	20.6
West North Central	412	12.3	10.8
South Atlantic	200	5.9	12.8
East South Central	199	5.9	8.1
West South Central	746	22.2	9.9
Mountain States	309	9.2	3.0
Pacific States ^a	123	3.7	2.0
Miscellaneous	15	.4	

It can readily be seen that the percentage of boys coming from the New England, Middle Atlantic, South Atlantic, and East South Central regions was lower than the percentage of the population of those areas; the percentage coming from the East North Central, West North Central and Pacific States slightly larger; while the percentage coming from the West South Central and Mountain States was markedly higher. Proximity to California was probably one of the chief causes of these divergences, while the unusually large number coming from the West South Central States was partially conditioned by the drought, as well as by a high Mexican influx from the city of El Paso, Texas.

The present study tends to confirm the widely held opinion that the great number of young migrants came from urban areas. Without tabulating this material by States it can be stated that 2,643 of the boys or 78.7 per cent of the total came from urban districts. (It will be remembered that the percentage of urban population for the country as a whole is 56.2). Only four States contributed a smaller

^a California figures are omitted in all of the sections here.

percentage of urban boys than the proportion of urban population as a whole, and two of these had such a small number of cases as to make the comparative percentages worthless. On the other hand, many States, predominantly rural in character, sent a high share of their boys from their urban sections.

Not only did the big percentage of transient boys come from urban areas, but they came from the larger cities. Of the total group, 1,285 or 38 per cent came from cities of over 100,000 population, as compared with the percentage of 29.6 for the population as a whole.

COLOR AND NATIVITY

"Transiency was predominantly the migration of native white persons," states the government statistician, and the statement is also true for the boys here studied. Approximately 88 per cent are included in this category. Table V brings out the extent to which the youthful wanderers were made up of native white stock.

TABLE V

COLOR AND NATIVITY OF TRANSIENT BOYS

<i>Nativity</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Negro	317	9.4
Foreign born	87	2.6
Native white (total)	2943	87.9
(Native, American-born parentage)	2154	64.2
(Native, foreign-born parentage)	789	23.6
Other races	5	.2

These figures compare favorably with those of the population as a whole, with the transient boys showing a higher percentage of native whites of American parents, and a lower percentage of foreign born. The Negro ratio is almost the same.

^a John N. Webb, *The Transient Unemployed* (Washington, D. C.: Works Progress Administration, Division of Social Research), Monograph III, 1935, page 33.

FAMILY BACKGROUND

Discussion of the family backgrounds of the transients will be made under the three sections of size of family, marital status of parents, and economic situation.

The young migrants came from unusually large families. The average number of children per family was 4.6, with the native whites showing an average of 4.5, the foreign-born whites 5.1, and the Negroes 4.1. Only 8 per cent of the boys were only children in their respective families, while approximately 62 per cent of the boys came from homes in which there were 4 or more children.

Table VI shows the marital status of the homes from which the 3,352 transient boys came.

TABLE VI

MARITAL STATUS OF PARENTS OF TRANSIENT BOYS

<i>Status</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>
Parents married and living together	1,486	44.4
Home broken	1,866	55.6
By death	1,277	38.1
By divorce	381	11.4
By separation	208	6.2
Total	3,352	

It would appear that the fact that 55.6 per cent of the boys came from broken homes is significant, and must be given careful consideration as a determinant in transiency. The figure is higher than that found in cases of delinquency, for example. In 1933, the marital status of the parents of 43,102 delinquent boys reported by 67 juvenile courts in this country shows a percentage of only 33 for broken homes.*

**Juvenile Court Statistics and Federal Juvenile Offenders* (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1936), United States Department of Labor, Children's Bureau, Publication No. 232, page 31.

Further study on this phase of the family backgrounds brings out that 25 per cent of the boys had stepfathers or stepmothers; that .8 per cent were illegitimate children; and that more than 14 per cent had been raised out of the home, either by friends or relatives, in foster homes, or in orphanages. It should also be mentioned that 40 of the boys, or 1.2 per cent, were or had been married.

Table VII presents the occupations of the chief breadwinner in each family represented, together with the number on relief and unemployed.

TABLE VII

OCCUPATION OF CHIEF BREADWINNER IN FAMILIES OF TRANSIENT BOYS,
AND EXTENT OF RELIEF AND UNEMPLOYMENT

Occupational Grouping ⁵	Number	Per Cent	On	
			Relief	Unemployed
Professional	91	2.7	9	2
Business, semiprofessional	541	16.1	72	17
Skilled labor	960	28.6	239	33
Semi- or slightly skilled	547	16.3	124	33
Unskilled labor	569	16.9	150	28
Not ascertained	589	17.6	412	63
No home	55	1.7		
Total	3,352	99.9	1,006	176

Several facts stand out from this table. The high number of boys coming from homes where the breadwinner was a skilled laborer is partly accounted for by the fact that in this classification farm owners and proprietors were included.

The most striking fact in the table, however, is the high number of relief and unemployment cases found, not only in the total, but in each of the occupational groups. More than 30 per cent of the families represented were active relief cases at the time the boy left home,

⁵ The classification here used is Terman's reorganized grouping of the Taussig 5-grade system as listed by Miss Armstrong. Clairette Armstrong, *660 Runaway Boys: Why Boys Desert Their Homes* (Boston: The Gorham Press, 1932), pages 59-61.

and an additional 5 per cent had no member of the family working. When there is added here the large number of families on the lowest subsistence level, which information is indicated by many letters of verification but which cannot be adequately tabulated, the importance of the economic factor may be seen. It would appear that the brief study of family backgrounds would indicate at least three factors which were probably determinants in causing transiency: the large family, the broken home, and economic insufficiency.

EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND

Students of the transient problem have varied widely in their opinions and findings as to the degree of education of the young migrants. While one has stated that "they were a fairly well-educated group," another has just as flatly declared that "on the whole they lacked education." The writer has previously made a study in this particular field, and has been inclined to the former position.^{*} The present study would tend to corroborate that view. Table VIII portrays the amount of formal schooling by last grade finished.

From this table stand out the facts that the average grade finished for the entire group was 9, that almost 59 per cent had completed one or more years of high school, that 14 per cent were high-school graduates, and that only a little over 1 per cent had had less than three years' schooling.

The group, as a whole, showed a retardation of .97 years, a figure which compares not unfavorably with the general population.

Adequate information could not be obtained in the majority of cases as to reasons for boys stopping school, but a few of the findings relative to drop-outs and transiency might be mentioned.

^{*} John N. Webb, *op. cit.*, page 39.

[†] Thomas Minehan, "Boy and Girl Tramps of the Road," *The Clearing House*, 11, November 1936, page 137.

[‡] George E. Outland, "The Educational Background of Migrant Boys," *The School Review*, 33, November 1935, pages 683-689.

TABLE VIII

SCHOOLING OF TRANSIENT BOYS BY LAST GRADE COMPLETED

<i>Grade</i>	<i>Number</i>
0	7
1	4
2	5
3	23
4	62
5	92
6	172
7	327
8	690
9	519
10	607
11	373
12	418
13	38
14	10
15	2
16	1
Not ascertained	2
Total	3,352
Mean	9.0 + .04
S.D.	2.14 + .03

1. For the group on whom information could be obtained, it was found that the general reasons for dropping out of school were economic, educational, and social, in the order named.

2. Almost one third of the cases (31.7 per cent) left school before reaching the minimum age limit in their respective States.

3. Approximately half of the total group did not go on the road until two years after leaving school; two thirds of them did not go until they had been out of school for at least a year. These figures would seem to indicate that the school occupied a relatively low place as an immediate determinant of transiency.

DIRECT CAUSES OF TRANSIENCY

Boys usually leave home because of a complication of reasons, and the present study has emphasized this point again and again. However, recognizing the danger of oversimplification, the writer has grouped the direct or immediate causes for transiency under the general headings in Table IX, taking in each case the one most important reason without which the boy presumably would not have gone on the road.

TABLE IX

GENERAL REASONS FOR BOYS LEAVING HOME

<i>Cause</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>
Economic	1,218	36.3
Social	890	26.5
Adventure, etc.	804	23.9
Reason connected with army, etc.	96	2.8
Personality defect	163	4.8
Educational	98	2.9
Miscellaneous	83	2.5
Total	2,352	99.7

Under the general grouping of economic causes have been listed the cases of boys seeking employment, those with a job or definite prospect of a job, those who left because of losing the job at home, and those who left because of sheer economic stress in the home. The present paper cannot quote from the hundreds of letters in the case files illustrating the economic factor as the immediate cause for transiency. Perhaps the following excerpt will indicate the general tenor: "This family has made a desperate struggle for existence, and has been very much handicapped in that Mr. B. is not in good health, and Mrs. B. is at the present time under the care of our county physician. They have a splendid employment record, but continued unemployment has broken their morale." Or the case of Fred, who took a freight train out of St. Paul because "he could not bear to stay longer in the home where the little children were in need of food."

The factor of social background ranks next to the economic reason as the immediate cause for transiency. Included in this general category are such factors as broken homes, discordant homes, trouble with parent or step-parent, trouble with the law, trouble with wife, drunken or immoral home, migratory family, etc. The trouble at home ranged all the way from a trivial quarrel with the parent to a father forcing his son into immoral relations with him. In some cases the basic cause for the home conflict is a combination of economic insufficiency and cultural differences, as the following excerpt illustrates: "The parents fail to appreciate the enormity of the present economic depression; they feel that the children are lazy because they do not find employment and make themselves self-supporting. They are extremely religious. . . . The family have brought many of their old world ideals with them, and this, coupled with the present economic distress, makes for unpleasant conditions in the home. . . ."

The third big general cause for transiency, the love of adventure, includes the cases of those boys who left to see the country in general, or California and Hollywood in particular, those who ran away to either the Chicago or the San Diego fair, those who left out of sheer boredom or restlessness, and those who wished to participate in the life of a transient camp. Also included in this group are the cases of those boys who left home to visit relatives. While the background factor of economic insufficiency runs through these cases also, it is not as prominent as in the other two previously mentioned; moreover a considerable number of cases are found here who came from wealthy or well-to-do homes. A Michigan lad, for example, was dissatisfied with his monthly allowance of only thirty dollars, and ran away "to see something of the world."

A small percentage of boys left home because of desire to join the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps or the C.C.C. camps, or because of discharge, desertion, or rejection from one of these same service organizations.

Slightly less than 5 per cent of the total group went on the road

because of some mental or physical defect. The number of ascertained cases of feeble-mindedness was low; a larger number left because of poor health, and the hope of being able to recuperate in California.

Attention has already been called to the fact that the school appeared to occupy a small place as a direct determinant in transiency. Table IX shows that less than 3 per cent of the group left home because of some educational factor. Included in this group were boys who were failing or afraid of failing, those expelled or suspended, those who left in order to keep from continuing, and those seeking to continue their schooling in California or to earn funds to enable them to continue at home. As a background factor failing to hold boys through the secondary-school period, the school must be given a prominent place as an indirect determinant in transiency, but as the direct, primary, or immediate reason for leaving home it is comparatively unimportant. Furthermore, attention should be called to the fact that the present study did not reveal a single case of a boy forced to go on the road because of the closing of the school he was attending.

Under the classification of miscellaneous have been included those cases who left home "to be independent," those who left "for no reason at all," and those for whom the direct cause of migration could not be ascertained.

Attention should again be called to the fact that in most cases the multiple factor was present, and, although the present classification has been made on the basis of all available evidence, there was usually more than one determinant operating, even though a direct single cause could in most cases be found.

CONCLUSION

The numbers of boys on the road are evidently greatly reduced. As general conditions improve, the basic economic and social reasons for boys leaving home will be modified, the spirit of adventure will be sublimated into other channels, and transiency will tend to

become more and more the wandering of the personally maladjusted. However, with the lessening of the problem there should not be forgotten some of the lessons learned during the time of the problem. So far as the present study is concerned, it would seem that the major question is that of providing employment or worth-while leisure-time activity for out-of-school youth, while at the same time so adjusting the educational system as to prolong the school period through an increase in the holding power. The first part of the problem will have to come primarily through absorption in industry, although the school will necessarily occupy an important place through its vocational program, and through its coöperation in making available its facilities for recreational and educational programs for those whom industry is unable to take immediately.

The prolonging of the school period involves a vitalizing and enriching of the curriculum, more differentiated treatment, financial provision to enable the worthy student to continue when otherwise unable because of economic handicap (the National Youth Administration is evidently the first step in this direction), more adequate and better enforced truancy laws, and a more extensive knowledge on the part of the teachers and administrators of the social backgrounds from which their children come. An ambitious program, perhaps, but certainly not an impossible one.

Finally, it would seem that social workers and laymen should realize the necessity of some type of permanent, Federal framework for the care of migrant individuals and families in this country. A high degree of mobility we shall doubtless continue to have for generations to come, even though the particular problem of the transient boy appears to be abating at the moment. In order to cope with the problems raised by such mobility, a nationally controlled and financed organization would appear to be essential. "Back to the States" is only attempting to shift to smaller and less capable governmental units a situation which is essentially interstate and Federal in scope.

RESEARCH PROJECTS AND METHODS IN EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

In order that this section of THE JOURNAL may be of the greatest possible service, its readers are urged to send at once to the editor of this department titles—and where possible descriptions—of current research projects now in process in educational sociology and also those projects in fields of interest kindred to educational sociology. Correspondence upon proposed projects and methods will be welcomed.

LIBRARY ASSOCIATION PUBLICATIONS

A Guide to Bibliographies of Theses, by Thomas R. Palfrey, Department of Romance Languages, and Henry E. Coleman, Jr., Deering Library, Northwestern University, has just been published by the American Library Association, and is expected to make easier the usually difficult and often impossible task of ascertaining what American dissertations have been made or are in progress. It attempts to cite all available lists of titles or abstracts of masters' and doctors' theses prepared in United States and Canadian colleges from the earliest publication of such lists through June 1935. There are three sections: (1) general lists covering more than one subject; (2) lists in special fields by subject; and (3) lists by institution in which the studies were made. (48 pages, \$1.00.)

The Libraries of Washington, a survey of library resources in the nation's capital, by David Spence Hill, staff associate of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, was recently published by the American Library Association. In this study of 166 governmental and 103 nongovernmental libraries, Dr. Hill describes the origin, nature, functions, and activities of the organizations served by each library as well as the character and size of its book collection and, in some instances, the services it renders. It is intended to aid scholars in locating research material, much of which is available on interlibrary loan. The index serves not only to locate each library but brings out the most important subjects in which each has special strength. (312 pages, cloth, \$3.50.)

The publications issued by "New Deal" agencies from May 1934 to December 1935 are listed in the supplement to Jerome K. Wilcox's *Guide to Official Publications of the New Deal Administrations*, published by the American Library Association. Both the *Guide*, published in 1935,

and this supplement should be helpful in the study of the present administration, its many agencies, and in general consideration of social and economic trends. (184 pages, \$1.75.)

OFFICE OF EDUCATION, UNIVERSITY RESEARCH PROJECT

The Office of Education of the Department of the Interior in Washington publishes a news letter entitled *March of Education* in which from time to time significant researches are described and their results indicated. The purpose of the news letter is to transmit quickly to educators important information coming to the Office of Education. It is mailed free to the subscribers to *School Life*. This publication has recorded progress in the university research project being sponsored by the Office of Education with the assistance of WPA funds. The University research project is one of five educational projects now nearing completion.

The sixty universities coöperating with the Office of Education by conducting coöordinated research studies under the Project in Research in Universities have submitted most of their final study reports and the remainder are expected in soon.

Findings from the forty major studies which have been conducted in from one to thirty-one institutions each will make a significant and in some cases unparalleled contribution to educational records. Twenty-three Office of Education staff members who are serving as coördinators for the various studies are now engaged in bringing together the findings from the different institutions and in preparing manuscripts for publication as Office of Education bulletins.

Important educational problems have been attacked on a scale never before attempted and with facilities and opportunities which are not frequently available to research workers in education.

For example, a study of the occupational status of 75,000 alumni of thirty-one universities located in all sections of the country is rapidly nearing completion. Again, the 1931-1932 freshman entrants to twenty-five institutions have been followed through their university careers in a study of persistence in attendance, scholastic success, and other important aspects of college life. An integrated attack on the problem of the relationship between certain factors in secondary-school success and college success has been made in seventeen universities. Other representative studies have dealt with the economic status of rural teachers, the appor-

tionment of State school taxes and funds, unit costs of higher education, and various aspects of C.C.C. camp education.

A second important outcome is that local findings from many of the studies are being used as a basis for administrative adjustments and revisions of instructional practice in the institutions where the data were gathered. This is shown by the nature of comments received from local project administrators of many of the participating universities. The co-ordinated studies to be issued later as Office of Education bulletins will significantly increase the usefulness of local findings.

In the third place, and highly significant, employment has been furnished for several hundred research and other white-collar workers who would otherwise have been unemployed, and their talents have been directed into worth-while channels instead of representing an unutilized social resource.

BOOK REVIEWS

Planned Society: Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow, edited by FINDLAY MACKENZIE. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1937, 989 pages.

This book presents no blueprint for society as it should be but rather provides a frame of reference and orientation for those thinking in terms of social planning. Economists, sociologists, and statesmen discuss some of the more fundamental factors underlying the problems of control and planning in a changing society from early times to the present day.

At this moment when the words reform, control, and planning are being bandied about, when the National and State governments are attempting excursions into planning, on a partial basis at least, *Planned Society* comes as one of the most timely books of the year.

For the educator giving courses in economic theory, government, and business this book of readings makes an ideal text.

Middletown in Transition, by ROBERT S. LYND and HELEN M. LYND. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1937, 604 pages.

Having read *Middletown* and often referred to the material presented in this earlier volume, the writer eagerly looked forward to the appearance of this supplementary study of Middletown during the ten years, 1925 to 1935. In some of the chapters, especially those dealing with caring for the unable, making a home, and the machinery of government, the authors have presented the same factual analysis as in the earlier book. The effects of the depression, the frantic struggle for Federal funds, the criticisms of local administration, and the conflicting influence upon human values are graphically drawn. At times one has the feeling of peering upon a moving drama through the eyes of one who understands the deeper significance of seemingly trivial events.

However, other portions of this second volume are little more than copied quotations from the first book or contain statements of so general a character that they could have been written without a return to Middletown.

Certainly the two volumes make an extremely significant contribution both to the field of social research and to the better understanding of ourselves as we traverse the complex maze of our community life.

The Nature of Human Nature, by ELLSWORTH FARIS. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1937, 414 pages.

This book by one of the most astute students of social psychology deals with the nature of personality in relation to social life and culture and consists mainly of a collection of the author's contributions to various magazines upon the subject. Because of the fact that it is a collection of contributions designed for different types of readers, it lacks the unity possible in a book which the author might have presented. It, moreover, has considerable overlapping which detracts somewhat from the author's contribution which is distinctly the author's point of view and is perhaps best presented in his chapter which uses the title of the book—*The Nature of Human Nature*. In spite of certain weaknesses incident to the method of its construction, the book is one that will be read with deepest interest by every student of attitudes and it has the advantage of bringing together diverse material of the authors, a contribution in itself.

It is a book that should be read not only by the sociologists and students of sociology, but by teachers as well. The reviewer cannot but regret the inadequate emphasis upon educational sociology, but this would not invalidate the contribution of the book as a whole.

Housing Management, by BEATRICE G. ROSAHN and ABRAHAM GOLDFELD. New York: Covici, Friede, Inc., 1937, 414 pages.

As the title implies, this book is devoted solely to the management of housing projects. While it is written primarily in the light of large-scale, low-cost government housing, the principles presented and many of the specific practices described should be equally applicable to the management of smaller private housing projects.

The growing interest in housing and the recognition of it as one of our major social problems today should, however, make this very excellent analysis of vital interest to a much wider field than the title signifies. Social-welfare and religious workers, home nurses, community planning boards, as well as the many lay groups interested in promoting better housing can find specific illustrations, graphic descriptions, and basic principles presented in a clear style and convincing manner.

Four Years of Network Broadcasting. A Report by the Committee on Civic Education by Radio of the National Advisory Council on

Radio in Education and the American Political Science Association. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1937, 78 pages.

This report is both revealing and disquieting. It should be read by every one who is on the side of education by radio. It might benefit the eternal radio-time seeker who sees in his priceless efforts the salvation of mankind. The broadcasting companies should give it a glance, but it is doubtful if they would recommend it as fireside entertainment for the members of the Federal Radio Commission.

The report reveals that "You and Your Government" was planned by or sanctioned by some of the best brains in education. Great ability is required to produce a great plan or even a good one, but that does not ensure satisfactory execution of the plan. The committee faced insufficient funds and difficulties with the National Broadcasting Company. It met the problems of speaker selection, broadcasting methods, quality of broadcast control, and merchandising. There was no way to measure results.

The committee recommendation is prefaced by a reference to "the double conflict between commercial and educational interests and between the chains and their individual stations. . . ." This ominous note reflects the tone of the whole report. It leaves this reviewer with a chilly, dampish feeling about the "next step," electrical transcriptions. Maybe the rest of you won't feel that way when you read the report.

The Daily Newspaper in America, by ALFRED MCCLUNG LEE. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1937, 797 pages.

In this monumental work the author has given a comprehensive history of the newspaper and an exhaustive analysis of its present status including its physical basis, labor, ownership and management, chains, and associations, distributors advertising, and editorial staff. He has, however, written very much more than a history or a summary of existing data; he has made a study of the newspaper as a social instrument. The complex maze of social force which gave rise to and continually modified the policies and practices of American dailies and their influence upon those same forces runs as a unifying thread throughout the entire volume. It is interestingly written (the most readable Ph.D. thesis the reviewer has read in many years), well documented, and contains an exhaustive bibliography for those who wish to make a more detailed study of specific aspects of the subject.

Research Memorandum on Religion in the Depression, by SAMUEL C. KINCHLOE. New York: Social Science Research Council, 1937, 158 pages.

This monograph on research pertaining to religion in the depression is one of a series of thirteen sponsored by the Social Science Research Council to stimulate the study of depression effects on various social institutions. The experience of Professor Kinchloe and his intimate contact with the field make him the ideal person to undertake such a task.

The study stresses the importance of studying regional and local variations in religion as well as denominational and national changes. Emphasis is placed upon developing new techniques of study in religious areas such as membership and attendance, church finances, secularization, the minister and his message, and program and activities. He warns against evaluating these trends without a consideration of other social changes in the community structure.

This monograph is an indispensable manual for persons wishing to evaluate the church as an institution in the community. It should have a widespread appeal to ministers, educators, and sociologists interested in studying either social institutions or social processes. It cannot be recommended too highly as a research manual in religion.

Scholarship and Democracy, by J. B. JOHNSTON. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1937, 133 pages.

This book contains a thorough discussion of the Minnesota study of student achievement. This study has been under way long enough, and under Dean Johnston's leadership has been pursued so thoroughly, that this careful, critical review of the results will prove absorbing to those who have followed this investigation, and most instructive to all who are sincerely interested in the problem of what becomes, and is to become of the high-school graduate. In the reviewer's opinion, nothing has yet been done in this area that excels this report in scope, significance, and critical thinking.

Rediscovering the Adolescent, by HEDLEY S. DIMOCK. New York: Association Press, 1937, 287 pages.

This "rediscovery" of the adolescent is based on original data obtained from an intensive investigation of two hundred boys, twelve to fourteen

years of age when the study began, for a period of two years. The book presents a dynamic description of developmental changes from ages twelve through sixteen. The material includes activities and play pursuits, personality and behavior, friends and groupings, search for status, emancipation from parents, moral and religious thinking, physical and physiological changes throughout puberty.

Since the majority of the boys passed from prepubescence through puberty during the two years, the developmental changes can be appraised in relation to pubescent growth. In this connection the book explodes much conventional lore and its provocative contribution is established. The data show adolescent changes to be far less causally related to pubescence than is currently assumed.

Tables and pictographs are noteworthy for their clarity, cogency, and interest. The book is a revitalizing and timely contribution to a somewhat stultified field and should command immediate attention.

Superior Children: Their Physiological, Psychological and Social Development, by JOHN EDWARD BENTLEY. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1937, 331 pages.

The publication of another volume on feeble-minded children would merit scant notice. There is already a vast literature on such children. The publication of a volume on superior children is, however, an event. The literature on gifted children is meager. And yet gifted children are the nation's most precious resource. The little interest that has been shown in their nature and nurture is a national tragedy.

While Dr. Bentley's volume is not wholly an original contribution to our understanding of gifted children, it is an extraordinarily interesting and able compilation of the scattered literature concerning them. It is particularly valuable for having brought together, and integrated with our knowledge, the growing periodical literature. The last general book dealing with superior children, Leta Stetter Hollingworth's *Gifted Children: Their Nature and Nurture*, was published in 1926. Much has been learned of the characteristics and problems of gifted children in the intervening years.

Dr. Bentley covers in thorough fashion the problems of the nature of intellectual giftedness, its relationship to talent, and the physical, mental and emotional, and social traits of the gifted. Of particular significance, because so contrary to popular opinion, are Dr. Bentley's emphasis upon the personal stability and social adaptability of these children. The more

original material of the volume, dealing with the goals and methods of education for gifted children, and the relationship of their education to the problem of leadership in our democratic society, should prove of the greatest interest both to educators and social workers.

One cannot but speculate, as one lays down this volume, what the effect upon our national destiny might be of diverting to the education of gifted children an amount equal to that which we spend upon the education of our feeble-minded children. One is inclined to believe that when ultimately the history of American democracy is written, the extent to which we have solved the problem of the conservation and utilization of the gifted and talented elements of our population will have much to do with that history.

The Marginal Man, by EVERETT V. STONEQUIST. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1937, 223 pages.

The characteristic, more than any other, that distinguishes man from the animal is his demand for social status, and opportunity for free expression and feeling of personality without those conflicts which divide his allegiance and put him in a position that makes feelings of inferiority inevitable. Because of this demand of human nature, *The Marginal Man* exacts the investigations of the sociologists and elicits the interest of the humanitarian, the statesman, and the social reformer. *The Marginal Man*, both the racial and cultural hybrid, displays special problems in modern society resulting from the world-wide mingling of races, nationalities, and cultures. The plight of the Negro and the minority cultural groups in America are examples of these culture and racial conflicts in their most acute forms and account for problems that beset us on every hand.

Several writers have attacked this problem from new points of view. Brown and Roucek have developed the theory of cultural pluralism, and Professor Stonequist, as Lewis Mumford aptly states, "examines the Marginal Man in all his typical mutations; he gives full weight to the disintegrating and the integrating forces that are at work. He shows that the personal problem of the individual with a mixed allegiance and a mixed heritage is essentially a social one, and that the social dilemma, in turn, is felt, then seized, and must eventually be resolved in the development of the individual personality." Such books will undoubtedly contribute much toward an understanding of our cultural conflicts and will help us to resolve them in terms of our developing democracy.

Social Psychology of Education, by A. O. BOWDEN and IRVING R. MELBO. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1937, 286 pages.

This book presents the applications of social psychology to the problems of educational workers. The book covers the field of the social-psychological aspects of the learning process, how attitudes are formed and personality developed. It also deals with the ways and means of social control in a school and the classroom. The book is of value to prospective teachers with beginning classes.

Feeling and Emotion, by H. M. GARDINER, RUTH CLARKE METCALF, and JOHN G. BEEBE-CENTER. New York: American Book Company, 1937, 445 pages.

This volume deals with the history of theories of feeling and emotion. The first nine chapters were written by Drs. Gardiner and Metcalf and chapters ten and eleven, dealing with the nineteenth century, were prepared by Dr. Beebe-Center, Harvard University.

The authors trace the development of theories starting with the doctrine of the affections expounded by ancient Greeks from Heraclitus to Plato. Other chapter headings descriptive of the content of the volume are: The Doctrine of Pleasure, Pain and Emotion—Aristotle (II); Ancient Theories of the Affections (III); Patristic and Medieval Doctrines of the Affections (IV); Affective Psychology in the Period of the Renaissance (V); Systems of the "Passions" in the 17th Century: Descartes and Malebranche (VI); Systems of the "Passions" in the 17th Century: Hobbes and Spinoza (VII); Affective Psychology in the 18th Century: British Moralists and Associationists (VIII); Affective Psychology in the 18th Century: French and German (IX); Affective Psychology in the 19th Century (X); Affective Psychology in the 20th Century (XI).

The volume is scholarly, historical in nature, and comprehensive. It will be valuable supplementary reading to students of philosophy, aesthetics, and psychology.

How Modern Business Serves Us, by WILLIAM R. ODELL. Boston: Ginn and Company, 1937, 471 pages.

This book is the reflection of a twofold emphasis in education: the pushing down into the high school of courses leading to an understand-

ing of our social problems; and the transition of courses in business from mere skill to a functional and appreciational level.

In this volume five aspects of our social and economic life are presented: communication, travel, transportation, handling money and sharing risks, and budgeting and spending. Each is broken down into short units with problems and supplementary projects for the students. Interestingly written, and profusely illustrated, the book should definitely meet the growing need resulting from changing emphases. A supplementary volume, *Business: Its Organization and Operation*, which will appear in May, will make a more specific application of this general knowledge to the specific field of business.

Adventures in Buymanship, by KENNETH B. HAAS. Bowling Green, Kentucky: Bowling Green Business University, 1937, 92 pages.

Dr. Haas is one of the leaders in the movement for a strong program of consumer education in the public schools. He is particularly concerned with the business aspects of consumer education. For a number of years he has been publishing syllabi plans and programs for consumer training in the public schools.

In this booklet he offers the teacher a rich body of teaching materials. These "adventures" should be useful to every teacher interested in consumer education, for they strongly challenge the exacting procedures for buying.

In the exacting transitional stage of consumer education, challenging documents of this type are most welcome.

Abundant source materials and further references are given.

Numbers and Numerals, by DAVID EUGENE SMITH and JEKUTHIAL GINSBURG. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1937, 52 pages.

This booklet is monograph number one of a proposed series of Contributions of Mathematics to Civilization under the editorship of W. D. Reeve. The first sentence of the preface follows: "This is a story of numbers, telling how numbers came into use, and what the first crude numerals, or number symbols, meant in the days when the world was young."

The scope of this little book is told best in the chapter titles: Learning to Count, Naming the Numbers, From Numbers to Numerals, From

Numerals to Computation, Fractions, Mystery of Numbers, Number Pleasantries, Story of a Few Arithmetic Words.

Numbers and Numerals is good enough to find a welcome place in many arithmetic classes and in many teachers-college libraries.

Women After Forty, by GRACE LOUCKS ELLIOTT. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1936, 213 pages.

Women After Forty is the doctor's thesis of Mrs. Grace Loucks Elliott and is another attempt to set aside a specific area of women's life as different from any other area. While there may be some differences, it is probably not as marked as the attempt that has been made to show in this thesis. There is some very interesting philosophy and psychology which should be helpful to any one before or after forty.

The book contains many notable quotations from authors bearing on this period of life. On the whole, it is worth reading and will provide comfort to many.

Inter-Racial Justice, by JOHN LA FARGE. New York: America Press, 1937, 225 pages.

Father LaFarge discusses race relations as they concern the Negro in the United States, but the principles he proposes ought to apply to the entire social and political field. The Negro is presented not as a hopeless "problem," but as a powerful factor in national and religious progress. The author's solution is based upon a Christian philosophy of social justice and social action. Most of the material presented here is not new. But the work is to be commended as the first complete treatment of the doctrine of race relations from the Catholic viewpoint.

An Essay on the Nature of Contemporary England, by HILAIRE BELLOC. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1937, 91 pages.

The comprehensive title qualified by the phrase, "an essay," indicates the difficult task assumed by the author. He has characterized England as commercial, Protestant, and aristocratic. Weaving his discussion about these three characteristics, the author has presented a sympathetic and frank picture of the English. If he errs in the too inclusiveness of his "stereotype" he is easily pardoned because of the brevity of the essay which prohibits qualifications, his objective attitude, and his whimsical style.